

# RAILA ODINGA

## *Leadership themes 2007*

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### CONTENTS

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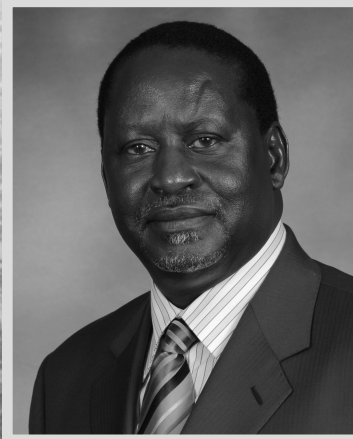
- 3 A Bridge to the Kenyan Dream
- 4 Good reasons to back Raila for the presidency
- 5 What do I believe in & what will I do for you?
- 6 Eradicating poverty
- 8 Leadership
- 10 A new Constitution
- 11 A parliamentary system
- 12 A photo gallery: Days in the life of Raila Odinga
- 14 Security
- 16 Community power
- 17 Education
- 18 Health
- 19 The environment
- 20 Empowering women
- 21 Youth
- 22 The private sector
- 22 Citizen's Charter
- 22 Taxation
- 22 Globalisation
- 23 Cabinet minister
- 24 Accolades for Raila

# **RAILA ODINGA**

*Leadership themes 2007*

# A Bridge *to the* Kenyan Dream

**“I am passionate about our common heritage and determined to lead this party – not for my own sake but for the sake of the country.”**



**I**T was our forefathers who coined and encapsulated the Kenyan Dream, in the words of our national anthem:

*“Justice be our shield  
and defender.*

*May we dwell in unity,  
peace and liberty;*

*Plenty be found within our  
borders.”*

More than 43 years later, however, we are further from realising the Kenyan Dream than we were at Independence.

It will be a crucial decision, therefore, when the people of this country choose the 2007 general election flag-bearer for the Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya. It will be crucial because it will affect every Kenyan.

We all know we want to end the way we have been used and abused for the past four decades. That was confirmed by the referendum on the government-altered Constitution, when the people rose up in a tremendous swell of humanity and

The decision on whom to elect ODM-K’s presidential candidate is just as important. It is important not only for the party, which must be strong and principled, but also for the country.

Our nation needs a bridge to carry us from the honest efforts of our forefathers, struggling for independence, through the contest for multi-partyism, on to the work of the referendum, and now beyond all that to the future.

We are at a crossroads. We have worked hard to get this far. Now the next decision we make will determine what will become of us.

The signposts are there, but sometimes the fog, especially the fog of propaganda, makes them indistinct. In deciding which way to go, we must therefore take great care.

The road straight ahead leads only to a dead end. While a few speed forward on the tarmac, the rest of us are left floundering at the roadside in a boggy morass that

The road to our left leads nowhere at all. It just goes on and on, featureless, no sign of development after many years, no glorious conclusion.

But the road to the right is, indeed, the right one. The road broadens and expands to reveal a bridge of sturdy steel that will not bend or break, no matter how often lashed by storms or blown by the four winds. Steadfast always, the bridge remains strong, spanning the turbulent waters beneath, providing safe passage to the other side.

I am that bridge – the bridge that links the historic moments of our past to the golden tomorrows of our future.

I am the link to our forefathers’ visionary path towards the Kenyan Dream.

Make the right decision – and let us, together, finally realise that dream for our nation.

*Raila Odinga*

# Good reasons to back Raila for the presidency



## FOUNDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE:

*Raila (standing behind his father, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga), watches as Jaramogi, then vice-president of Kenya, lays the foundation stone for Makueni Harambee Secondary School. It was September 1965, and Raila, 20 years old at the time, was home on vacation from his engineering degree studies in Magdeburg, Germany.*

## A patriotic and noble lineage

RAILA's parents, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Mary Juma, took great care to teach their children the difference between right and wrong. These lessons have stayed with them all throughout their lives, and with none moreso than Raila. Raila's public life has been, as Jaramogi's was, one of principled adherence to a moral code whose cornerstones are truth, nationalism, democracy and social justice. Driven by powerful consciences, both men always remained true to the cause of justice for all and freedom from tyranny. Both loved their country with a passion, and both laid their lives on the line for it.

## Wide international support

**"Raila Odinga is a truly inspirational African leader. The continent needs more like him. Kenya is blessed with him. He brings politics to the people and people to the politics. He fights for those who are disadvantaged and marginalised, and cares compassionately about social justice."**

– *The Rt Hon Lord (David) Steel of Aikwood; former Leader of the UK Liberal Party; former President, Liberal International; former Presiding Officer, Scottish Parliament*



**"Raila Odinga is a disciplined politician who has suffered for democratisation and development in Kenya. His zeal to see Kenya occupy a strategic position in a flourishing Africa endeared him to me. He epitomises the type of leadership that can be a good example not only in Kenya but in Africa and the world."**

– *Olusegun Obasanjo  
President of the Republic of Nigeria*

**"I first met Raila Odinga in the early 1990s, when both of us participated in the reconciliation efforts in Mozambique. Raila was extremely effective and consistently encouraged all parties to stay in the democratic process. I believe he made a difference there. I am happy to call him my friend."**

– *Lloyd Pierson, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, USAID; former Chief of Staff, Operations, US Peace Corps; former Director, African Division, International Republican Institute (IRI)*



## A team leader

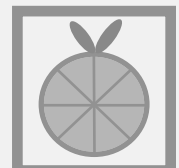
**"AMONG the presidential hopefuls, one stands taller than the rest – Raila Odinga.**

- He is the most proactive and charismatic and has the most initiative.
  - He has the greatest experience.
  - He it is who has exposed misdeeds, especially of the current government.
  - He has always fought misrule and sided with the people.
  - He has suffered oppression, antagonism and maligning propaganda from this and the previous government, because of voicing the interest of the people – yet he has shown magnanimity to those who have wronged him and has co-operated with them.
  - He is the longest-serving true reformist and has a consistent track record.
  - He unselfishly supported Kibaki as the presidential candidate for Narc.
  - He is an unparalleled team leader and inspirer.
  - He has travelled to every corner of this country, hence he knows the local problems of the people.
  - He is the only one of the contestants who represents, as MP, a truly cosmopolitan constituency that is not in his ethnic homeland.
- Raila Odinga is the best man for the job. RAILA FOR PRESIDENT!"**

– *Boit Maina, contributor to the www.raila07.com website blog*

## Raila's personal symbol for the ODM leadership campaign

THE ODM-K symbol is an orange. Raila's orange is divided into eight equal segments. Each equal segment represents one of the eight provinces of Kenya, which will get an equitable share of resource investment under a Raila administration.





## What do I believe in & what will I do for you?

*I HAVE always believed in freedom, multi-party democracy, tolerance, diversity, social justice and good governance. Such beliefs were at variance with those of a past authoritarian regime. Consequently, I paid a heavy price – years of solitary confinement in detention camps and ultimately self-exile. All this I endured with only one hope – a better Kenya. The strength, resilience and spirit of the poor and disadvantaged in our country motivated my actions. The people of Kenya deserve so much more than a list of their problems. We have lived our lives under successive governments that have lacked purpose and integrity. Now we need solutions. We need action. We need leadership.*

**O**ur country requires a different style of political leadership, as well as a different style of politics. This means a willingness to listen as well as to guide, a commitment to explain as well as to set out choices, and the courage to spell out the costs as well as the benefits of proposals and policies.

I am weary of the failure of old policies and tired men. Kenya is once again at the crossroads and a new society is struggling to be born. We are on the side of the future, and the ODM-K is the only agent of change and of hope. But we cannot be agents for change if we believe in 'business as usual' and if we are afraid of making tough decisions and choices that will drive Kenya forward, so that it emerges as a modern, democratic and developed country. If we know it has been done elsewhere, why can't we do it here? We cannot wait for the beautiful ones to be born after we die. We *are* the beautiful ones.

The ODM-K under my leadership will offer a radical, reforming and responsible government. It will provide positive solutions, not rhetoric.

Together, we will build a bright future.

My top dozen or so campaign themes are indicated in the following pages. The list is not exhaustive but it might give you a flavour of some of the things I would wish to do if elected to the leadership of this nation.

However, I must preface this with the proviso that the ODM-K will have its own election manifesto, to which I will give precedence, and on which I shall campaign. If I am elected presidential candidate of this great movement, ODM-K, you can be sure that I WILL:

- work ceaselessly to cement the unity of our Movement;
- take our message to every part of our great country and listen to the voices of our people;
- spearhead the process of genuine nation-building and fundamental transformation of our society;
- foster unity over division, security over strife and prosperity over hunger, and widen the circle of trust, opportunity and fairness;
- strengthen the bonds of community in our nation;
- take affirmative action to ensure there are more women candidates, and tackle political apathy through innovative campaigning on the issues that make a real difference to the lives of real Kenyans;
- inspire young people, give them the confidence to challenge what they see and to dream great things, and empower them to influence their own lives, their own futures.

### 'We must learn from history'

*THE award-winning poet and novelist Ben Okri, writing about the collapse of democracy in his own beloved Nigeria, urged his fellow citizens to learn from history. I would like to share some of his sentiments with you, as they are relevant to Kenya today:*

"The main institutions of regeneration are dying or silenced. The best minds have fled. Hunger wanders the highways. Corruption has become a god. Distrust lurks everywhere, and cynicism pollutes the air."

"We are going to have to transcend our tribes without losing our roots, transcend our religions without losing our faiths."

Ben Okri



In sum, I will strive to make Kenya a place where all individuals and communities can feel at home, with security in the present and hope for the future.



# Eradicating poverty

CREATING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES & ENSURING ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

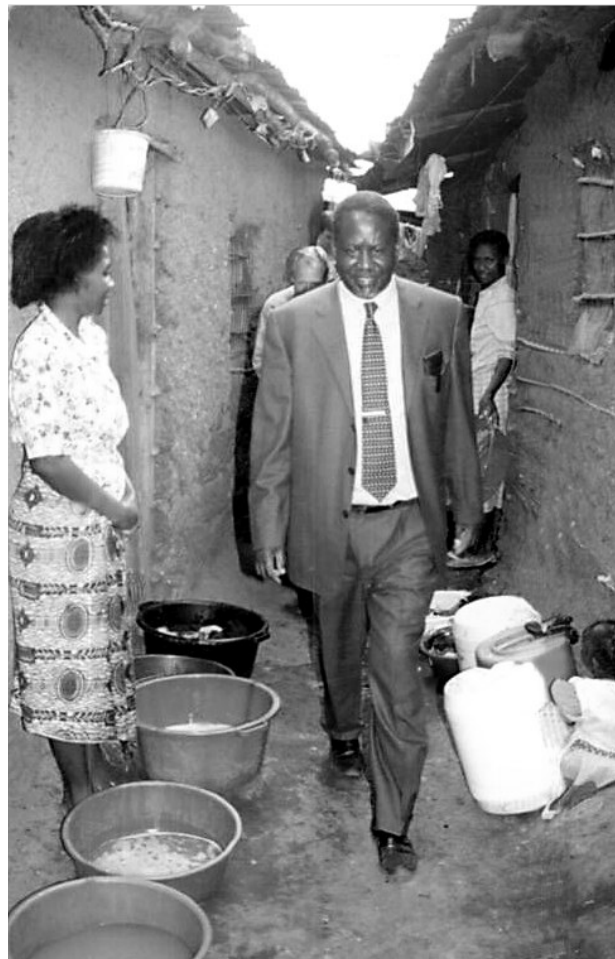
**T**he wealth of a nation lies in the skills of its people and their ability to work together. It lies in the stock of public and private investment the nation has accumulated, in the natural resources within its territory and in the quality of its natural and built environment.

Sound economic management harnesses those resources, reinvesting as they are depleted, renewing skills for each new generation, and caring for and maintaining those resources that are non-renewable.

In an open, increasingly global economy, there are limits to what any government can do on its own to manage its domestic economy.

But there are a number of ways in which active government can improve its competitive position. Through smart partnership regionally and internationally, we can turn some of the daunting challenges of globalisation into opportunities for enhanced investment and trade opportunities.

Kenya's economic decline has been halted. The annual growth figures of five to six per cent are an improvement in economic recovery but we need to double them to



*Raila during a visit to some of his Kibera constituents.*

alleviate poverty. We should also remember that the country has witnessed even higher rates of growth in the past, without any positive effect on poverty. In the early '80s, our growth rate hit eight per cent, but poverty only grew deeper.

The old adage that early capitalist economic growth carries along with it some of the most debilitating consequences for the poor is as true in our case as it has been in some other recently industrialised countries.

As it is, the much-vaunted economic growth under President Kibaki has only made the rich richer and the poor poorer. The top five per cent of Kenya's population continues to control nearly half our nation's wealth.

My colleague, Professor Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, when he was minister for planning in 2004, released the shocking figure that, for every shilling earned by a poor Kenyan, a rich Kenyan earned 56 shillings. This inequality has not lessened, even though the Kibaki government trumpets its economic growth.

The problem is that the growth is not inclusive. It is exclusive to the rich. The richest ten per cent now eat 42 per cent of the national cake. This has risen from 36 per cent in 2002.

This demonstrates that the Kibaki government has helped only the rich, and not the poor – and much research evidence suggests that the most unequal societies are also those that are least contented.

We also have wide provincial differences in poverty levels, with some provinces faring much better than all the others. It is in no one's interest to allow such disparity between rich and poor, and among different regions, to be entrenched in our society. If this is permitted to

continue, as it has since Independence, we as a nation will become ever less secure and ever more ill-at-ease with ourselves.

For national development to succeed, we need to deal honestly and realistically with inequality, adopting the politics of inclusiveness in place of exclusiveness.

Consequently, I give you a cast-iron guarantee that I will be a champion of social justice and social emancipation – a champion of the poor, the dispossessed and the disadvantaged in our nation.

I will redress the imbalance between the powerful and the weak, between the rich and the poor, between the satisfied and the hungry.

That is why my campaign symbol shows equal shares for the people of all the provinces in this nation. I shall preside over a radical government that is not fuelled by political doctrine, or envy, or ethnic favouritism and imbalance.

I shall put in place a team of skilled men and women selected on merit alone to oversee the re-engineering of our economy. The team will work to internationally tried and accepted standards.

It will be a presidency of ideas and ideals. It will be ambitious in achieving its economic goals.

Kenya's infrastructure is badly run down. The renowned US economist J K Galbraith in the 1960s coined the phrase "public squalor and private affluence".

That describes Kenya. In our cities, opulent buildings rise from a decaying landscape. We need urgently to redress this and to invest in our infrastructure nationwide.

More detailed matters of

economic policy will appear in the ODM-K manifesto, but among things that, as president, I WILL personally work hard to do, will be establishing

systems that ensure economic stability remains a platform for growth, along with continuous low inflation.

## Systems I shall put in place will ensure that we:

- plan for and execute a Kenya **green home market** based on a prosperous revolution organically, with industrialisation;
- ensure we **tax fairly** and **spend wisely** to raise living standards and achieve high and sustainable levels of employment;
- implement a comprehensive **human resources development policy** inclusive of all sectors and with a national profile, emphasising attention to a **quality** and **productive population** and the interests of **people with disability** and those affected by **HIV/Aids**;
- establish a co-ordinated and sustainable **safety net intervention programme**, in recognition of the fact that there will always be some people who will lag behind under economic growth development programmes, and to aid people who suffer due to **natural disasters**;
- encourage **savings & investments** by rewarding both, and by discouraging wasteful tastes that drain surplus and undercut capital accumulation;
- review external debt commitments and initiate an effective **debt-relief management strategy**;
- improve the outreach of **micro-credit programmes** and monitor all credit operations to ensure their efficiency and effectiveness;
- provide further inducements to investments in **processing** and **manufacturing** industries;
- **market Kenya** as one of the best **tourist destinations** regionally and internationally;
- ensure that where **workers**, for economic necessity, are retrenched, they are adequately **compensated** and the workforce **retrained**;
- enlarge investment in the **energy sector**, as it is a direct catalyst for the advancement of the economy;
- invest in our **roads, ports, railways, domestic air transport, water supply, irrigation, sanitation** and **low-cost housing**;
- review our existing **agriculture, fisheries** and **livestock** production, and diversify and encourage **value-added products**;
- introduce a **livestock insurance scheme** for pastoralists
- revitalise, diversify and expand our weak **manufacturing base**;
- implement the reform proposals of the Land Commission and seek remedy for the **historical injustices of land-grabbing** suffered by many communities;
- spearhead an **information & communication technology (ICT)** revolution.



# Leadership

REPLACING CORRUPTION WITH ETHICAL BEHAVIOUR & FAIR, HONEST GOVERNMENT

In December 2002, there was great euphoria and a strong feeling of optimism when President Kibaki and the Narc government were sworn in. Kenyans and the international community welcomed the change in leadership.

However, this optimism was shortlived, and the immediate rejection of the Memorandum of Understanding was just the beginning of a slide back to the one-man rule that had typified the previous regime, in spite of multi-party competition.

President Kibaki, in the guise of serving all Kenyans, not just those who helped to get him elected, began to discharge his duties in an imperial manner. He consulted selectively and cynically dispensed with consensus.

Examples of this are the way opposition Kanu MPs were incorporated into the Government of National Unity, despite a lack of any consultation on the matter with the Leader of the Official Opposition, and the later unilateral appointments to the Electoral Commission.

These actions demonstrate President Kibaki's high-handedness and lack of understanding in presiding over a multi-party political era in Kenya. President Kibaki has thus failed to provide effective leadership. He was to be our bridge to the future but instead he has led us back to an elitist and chauvinistic past.

I shall renew faith in our politics and provide sound leadership, based on consensus and fairness.

I abhor tribalism whenever and wherever it raises its ugly head, from Rwanda to the former Yugoslavia, from the slopes of Mt Elgon to the rolling plains of Narok and Laikipia.

Tribalism is simply the deeply ingrained human habit of identifying with your own community, of seeing its members as special and superior to others, and of discouraging social relations with people of other groups.

It is in fact a kind of ethnic apartheid, and it is usually perpetrated most strongly by a selfish elite that groups around the leadership.

The key feature of tribalism is the tendency to recognise, judge and

reward people according to their group identity, rather than because of their individual talents.

It is deeply insensitive not to recognise the mosaic of the Kenyan cultural terrain in making public appointments and in allocating public resources. Tribalism irrationally excludes the potential of many people in contributing to our national development.

There is ample evidence of linkage between ethnicity and economic inequality. For example, piped water is available to 12 per cent of households in Central Province, eight per cent in Coast, five per cent in Rift Valley, four



*Raila with Anglo Leasing whistleblower John Githongo.*

## I will:

- lead in the interest of the many, not the few, and build a future Kenya in which we all have a stake;
- restore trust in politics by discharging my duties through consultation and inclusiveness.



per cent in Eastern, and one per cent each in Western, Nyanza and North Eastern.

Recently, a colleague in parliament, Hon Joseph Kamotho, wrote about his personal experience in facing tribalism. He said, and I concur with him, “Ethnicity is a national cancer and it is not confined to Kikuyuland and the Kikuyu – it rules national politics.”

I will address issues of ethnicity and inequality in our country as a topmost priority.

I believe that the government, which represents all the people, not just one interest group, has an obligation to remove those obstacles that hinder individual achievement – obstacles emanating from tribe, gender or economic condition.

I guarantee their removal by using anti-discrimination legislation similar to that which has been successfully employed in other countries.

If we can consign tribalism to the Museum Of The Sins We Need Not Put Up With, let us do so in this generation, not the next.

**O**f all the transgressions of the Kibaki presidency, there is one that is more insidious than all, and that is the appetite for corruption – from zero-tolerance at Kibaki’s swearing-in ceremony to 100 per cent acceptance now.

The creation of an office of ‘corruption czar’ was a master stroke in domestic and international public relations, but it has come to haunt President Kibaki, whose government has failed to live up to its election promises.

The Kibaki government has failed

## Among my other priorities, I will:

- guarantee to build a Kenyan society based on fairness and equal opportunity, where merit comes before privilege;
- introduce an independent, small, Presidential Public Appointments Commission, to ensure that appointments to public corporations are based on merit and reflect the ethnic diversity of Kenya. The Commission will be required to publish a list of its appointments annually;
- introduce Community Relations legislation to prohibit any discrimination on the basis of ethnicity;
- encourage the Kenyan diaspora to invest in Kenya and to take an interest in playing an active political role at home and abroad. I value their skills learnt abroad and we need to harness those for our common good.

to bring those involved in the Goldenberg grand larceny (conducted during President Moi’s tenure of office and where at least Kshs.18 billion of public money was stolen) before courts of law to answer for their crimes. This money, stolen from Kenyans, needs to be recovered. I was among the first politicians to pursue this scandal, in 1995, and I promise you that I will bring a successful closure to this heinous crime.

There is also the infamous Anglo Leasing case, where the Kibaki

government was involved in fraudulent contracting and procuring.

The perpetrators of this crime are well-known – but well-protected, the only ‘victim’ being the person who had the courage to expose it. I applaud the honest actions of whistleblowers in this country, all of whom have been reviled and marginalised. I will give any future whistleblowers my unqualified support.

I will use the full executive authority vested in me to ensure the elimination of corruption – a pernicious crime against humanity.

### I WILL:

- review the functions and efficacy of the institutions set up by the government to fight corruption, so that billions of shillings in public funds are not spent with no tangible result;
- establish a Truth, Reconciliation and Restitution Commission to deal with past crimes of corruption;
- use the criminal justice system to ensure conviction and appropriate punishment, with mandatory prison sentences, for those convicted on corruption charges.

## Ministry of corruption

*WHEN I became minister in charge of roads in 2002, I found the ministry riddled with corruption. I put in place systems that ended the practice of civil servants also being contractors. These two-hat individuals had been cheating the public with poor workmanship at inflated prices.*

**As president, I will pursue similar systems overhauls in all ministries and public corporations.**



# A new Constitution

NATIONAL HARMONY FROM EFFECTIVE POWER-SHARING & ACCOUNTABILITY

**T**he desire for a New Constitution, by Kenyans for Kenyans, has been a long struggle. Efforts to achieve this were first thwarted by the Moi regime. That betrayal of the common good was followed by a similar betrayal by President Kibaki.

President Kibaki assured Kenyans when he was looking for their votes that there was a new Constitution on the table. What remained was only implementation, and he said this would be done within 100 days if he were elected.

President Kibaki did not keep that promise.

Much time and many resources were expended in the 'Bomas' conference to ensure that an inclusive,

people-driven and consultative process was followed in drafting a new Constitution.

Eventually, the conference crafted a vision of a country with a genuinely democratic, accountable and responsive government, one that would foster national harmony by effective power-sharing and devolution. The people of this nation had also made clear that they wanted a less powerful presidency.

The Bomas report that accompanied the Bomas Draft Constitution summarised the grave problems Kenya had faced since Independence because the country had been forced to rely on a Constitution that was partly colonial-inspired and partly a series of amendments

designed to keep one party in power. But then the Kibaki government subverted people's views by presenting the 'Wako' Draft instead of the Bomas Draft.

When they asked us to approve this draft in a referendum, the people said 'No!' and the government was defeated.

## I WILL:

- deliver Kenyans the Constitution they asked for, as reflected in the Bomas draft;
- submit as part of ODM-K's election manifesto the Draft Constitution for the people to peruse and endorse;
- enact the new Constitution as a first major piece of legislation of an ODM-K government;
- enhance the parliamentary system of government, and give up presidential powers as required by the system;
- introduce genuine power-sharing with a prime minister, as outlined in the Bomas Draft;
- submit to parliament a Political Parties Bill to guarantee public funding for political parties, to prescribe standards of financial conduct and internal party democracy, and to define relations between parties in a coalition government;
- submit to parliament legislative proposals that provide for the independent regulation of political parties and their registration, and their ability to operate free of executive harassment and to compete in elections free of unfair disadvantage.



*Raila takes the oath of office.*

# A PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

WHEN the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission consulted the people of Kenya, the people were clear about what they wanted regarding the presidency and parliament. They wanted the all-consuming presidential powers that have blighted this nation since Independence to be curbed. They wanted to limit presidential control and to ensure that the president was answerable to the people about the decisions he or she took. They wanted a system that would guard against parliament becoming the property of a single community, and against corruption, tribalism, cronyism and the violation of the people's rights. The majority of people favoured a stronger parliamentary system that would dilute presidential powers – a system that would include the post of prime minister.

**N**early all the mature democracies in the world have parliamentary systems of government, rather than presidential systems such as we have. In parliamentary systems, the role and powers of the head of state – whether president, king or queen – are separate from, but complementary to, the role and powers of the head of government, usually the prime minister. Among the major western powers, only the USA has a presidential system. Countries such as the UK, Germany, France, Italy and Sweden are all parliamentary democracies. The first line of the Swedish Constitution says, 'All public power in Sweden comes from the people'. That is what we must aim for in Kenya – removing power from power-brokers and giving it back to the people, so that the people have a real say in their destiny, and are not just taken for granted while their rights are paid lip-service. Presidential systems are also associated with lower public spending and fewer benefits for the people, which eventually results in the kind of inequality that characterises our system. That is what I would like to change.

**THERE** are many details defining and separating the roles of president and prime minister, some contained in the Bomas Draft New Constitution. They include:

## The President

- embodies and protects the sovereignty of the people and the Republic of Kenya
- ensures the integrity of state organs
- protects human rights and freedoms
- is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces
- appoints the Prime Minister, being the person who has the support of the largest party or coalition of parties in parliament
- appoints ministers, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister
- assents to or refers legislation passed by parliament
- signs international agreements
- receives foreign diplomatic representatives and appoints Kenya's representatives, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister
- appoints commissions of inquiry
- appoints judges and other constitutional office-bearers

## The Prime Minister

- is the head of national government
- is chairman of the cabinet
- is responsible for the conduct of government
- recommends for appointment by the President the names of those to serve as cabinet ministers
- designates those who will serve as deputy prime ministers
- appoints and may dismiss assistant ministers
- advises the President of any minister to be dismissed from office
- provides the President with regular full reports concerning matters under the Prime Minister's control
- consults with the President on the appointment of Kenya's diplomatic representatives
- in consultation with the President, assigns a permanent secretary to administer the office of the President

# A photo gallery: Days in



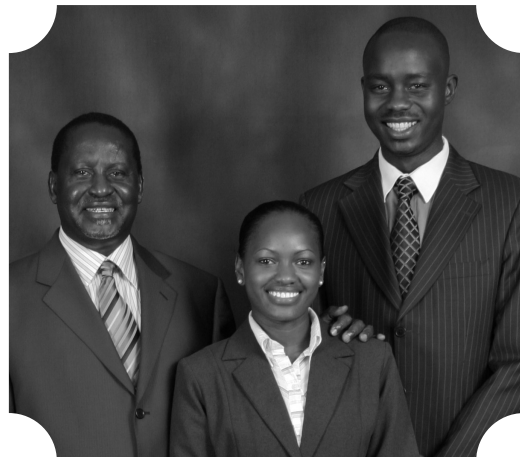
## Family album

**Above:** Raila and his wife, Ida, at home in Nairobi with their children, (from left) Rosemary, Raila Jnr, Winnie and Fidel.

**Left:** Raila and Ida escort Rosemary on her wedding day, November 4, 2004.

**Below left:** Raila with Rosemary, her husband Amos Akasa and their daughter Saphie – Raila and Ida's first grandchild, who was born on November 7, 2006.

**Below:** Raila with Fidel and Fidel's wife, Veronica Wanjiru Ng'ang'a.



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**Left:** Fc  
**Right:** F  
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House c  
swearin  
minister

**Below:**  
Ker, Mz



# n the life of Raila Odinga

## Celebrations



**Left and below:** Raila at a victory party to mark his re-election in 1997 as Member of Parliament for Langata.

**Right:** Raila joins his Turkana hosts in a celebratory dance during a ministerial visit he made to Lodwar Town.

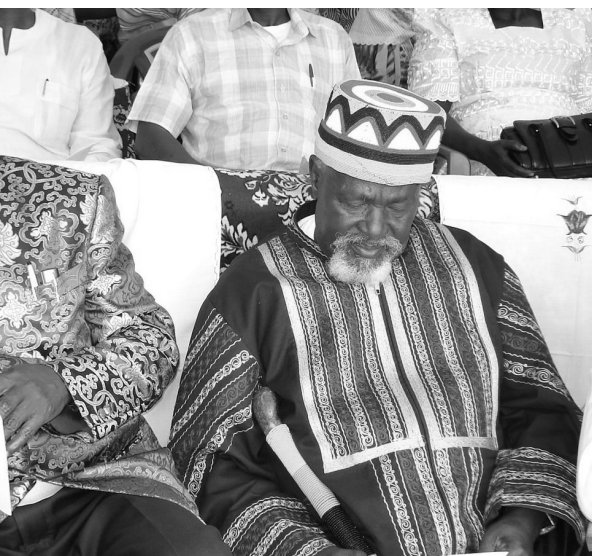


## ork, play culture

otballer Raila.

Raila and his  
ue Prof Peter  
' Nyong'o at State  
on the day of their  
ng-in as cabinet  
rs in 2002.

Raila with the Luo  
ree Riaga Ogalo.



## Paying last respects to a statesman

Raila, in Luo mourning regalia, pays his last respects to his old friend and colleague Michael Kijana Wamalwa, who died on August 23, 2003, while he was vice-president of Kenya. Raila and Wamalwa were among the Ford-Kenya 'Young Turks' in the forefront of the struggle for multi-partyism in the early 1990s.



# Security

FIGHTING CRIME, DRUG ABUSE & INSECURITY, FOR A SAFER KENYA



*Several people were killed when a former 'Mungiki' leader's visit to Kibera on December 17, 2006, led to police action. Raila left a wedding he was attending to return to his constituency and urge his constituents to remain calm.*

**K**ENYANS have a right to sleep safely in their homes, walk safely on the streets and drive safely on the roads. Governments have a duty to maintain that security. The recent upsurge in mindless murders and carjackings increases fear of crime. President Kibaki's dereliction of his

duty to protect Kenyans is most evident. I care not only about social justice but about criminal justice, too.

The internal security minister, John Michuki, talks tough but does very little to protect our citizens. Remember the raid on the Standard Group – a raid planned and executed in the name of state security!

The arrogant and casual manner in which this government has treated public concern about our national security shows that it can never be trusted to provide us with effective personal security.



*Raila consoles a victim of ethnic clashes.*

Recall the saga of the notorious Armenian brothers, whose presence in Kenya I revealed. I was roundly criticised – but the information I provided to the security services turned out to be correct. When the authorities could no longer deny the presence in our country of these criminals, the brothers were blatantly defended by the Kibaki government.



*Raila (with his son Raila Jnr), pictured in hospital in 1992, after he had been attacked by pro-government forces while on his way to campaign with Wambui Otieno in Ngong Town.*



*Mathare Valley residents welcomed Raila on November 10, 2006, after 'Mungiki' activities had left many homeless and several dead.*

Drugs are also a scourge in every society. The vicious circle of drugs and crime destroys lives and communities, and Kenya's record on fighting drug-pushers and rehabilitating drug-users is abysmal.

The circulation of illegal firearms in Kenya is a legacy of military conflicts in the region. The increasing number of armed robberies makes the task of blocking access to firearms a top priority. I will never take Kenyans' security for granted.

**I WILL:**

- dedicate increased resources to the law-enforcement arms of government, by modernising their training, equipment and housing, improving their pay, and introducing life insurance, health insurance and a modern retirement scheme;

- maintain law and order and be tough on crime, by apprehending, trying and sentencing offenders, and tackling the causes of crime;
- recruit and train more police officers;
- ensure adequate resources for training, the purchase of modern communications equipment and transportation, and the forensic science capacity to investigate crime;
- engage people in active crime-prevention through Neighbourhood Watch schemes and community policing;
- seek to regulate the private security industry, so that it works in partnership with the police in the battle against crime;
- establish a national crime squad to provide an effective, nationally

- co-ordinated approach to organised crime;
- be tough on drug-abusers and drug-pushers, as drugs are root causes of crime, especially in urban areas;
- strengthen and speed up the criminal justice system – justice delayed is justice denied, to both victim and offender;
- review sentencing policy and ensure that anyone convicted of a second serious sexual or violent crime gets an automatic life sentence;
- enforce the strictest firearms laws. I will ensure maximum vigilance at our borders and make use of our armed forces to prevent infiltration of our country by armed bandits;
- ensure support for victims of crime, especially those who have suffered rape and other sexual crimes.



# Community power

ENHANCING THE PARTICIPATION & RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PEOPLE

**W**E all live in communities, whether they are bomas, villages, towns or cities. They shape our daily lives and experiences. They are our first and closest link with wider society. Everyone wants and needs to be involved in the decisions that affect them personally, whether they live, for example, in Karen or Kibera in Nairobi, in Kariara village in the Aberdares, in Olturoto village in Kajiado or in Bula Makoror in North-Eastern Province.

No one is more concerned about what happens in any particular neighbourhood than the people who live there. And each community is different from the next, and has its own needs and ambitions.

These ambitions are too often thwarted, however, by tight control of local affairs by an all-powerful central government, by authoritarian micro-management and by corruption.

The purposes of stronger, more accountable local government and less interference by central government include:

- strengthening national unity by accepting diversity as a

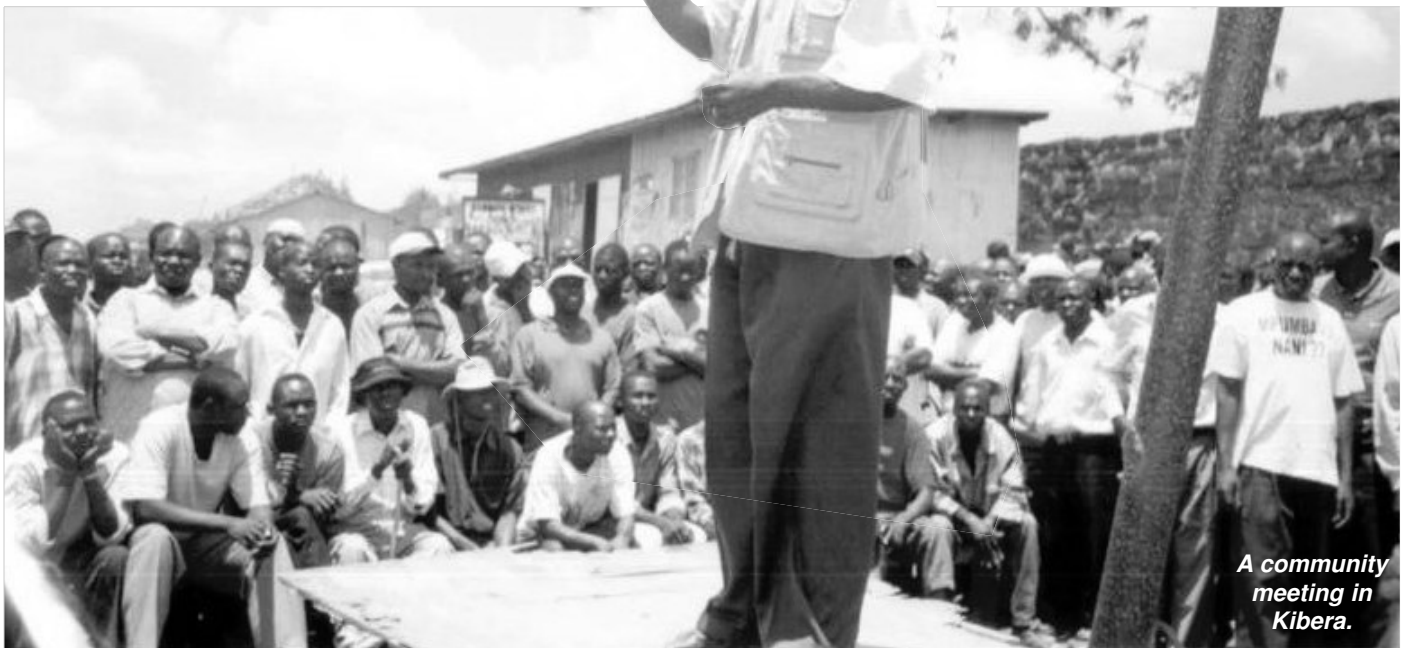
valid and desirable fact of life

- spreading state power so that it is not all in a few hands
- ensuring equal sharing of national resources
- increasing accessibility of government
- widening the spread of public services
- promoting social development.

I WILL:

- reform the system of local government to empower communities;
- disperse power to communities and individuals, not just to councils. I want to engage our people in active citizenship, involving them directly in the management of their neighbourhoods and the services they use. Devolution without democracy is just tyranny on a local scale;
- enable the transfer of power to communities with strong democratic and accountable local governments;
- restructure and entrench the Community Development

Fund by raising budgetary allocation and ensuring transparency and accountability in its administration.



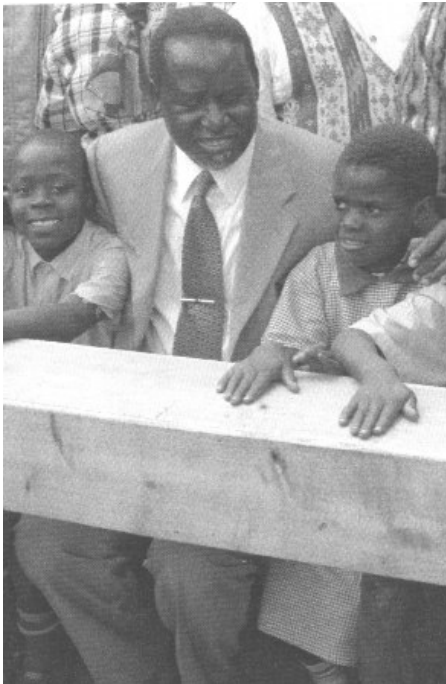
*A community meeting in Kibera.*



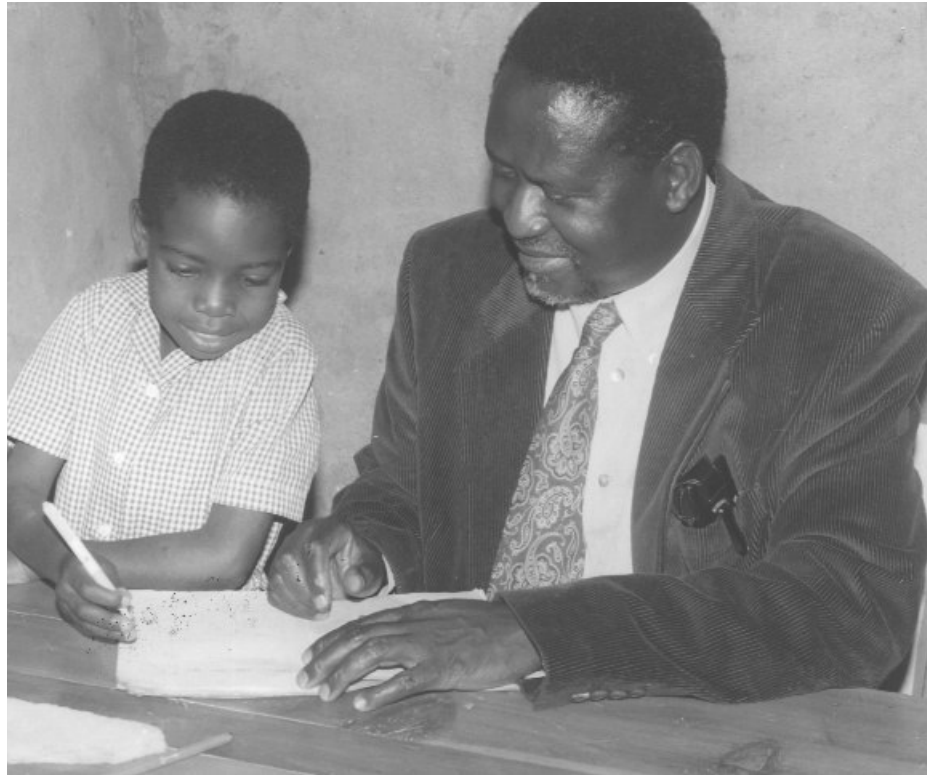


# Education

BETTER TRAINING FOR MORE TEACHERS, GREATER OPPORTUNITY FOR STUDENTS



*Railla visiting schools in his constituency: Quality and affordable education remains a must for all our children.*



**T**he Narc government has provided free primary education, in accordance with the pre-election Narc manifesto pledge we were all involved in formulating.

It was something the Moi government said at the last election was a gimmick and financially impossible.

However, there can be no quality education for our children while staff have to teach classes of as many as 100.

No teacher can be fully effective in such a situation.

And there are still many young Kenyans not in education, employment or training. We need to do more to support this group of disaffected young people, with an

expansion of vocational education opportunities.

Quality and affordable education remains a must for all our children.

We played our part in the early stages of the Narc government in fulfilling the primary education pledge.

We need to be bold and go a step further in terms of the provision of secondary education.

#### I WILL:

- introduce free secondary education;
- employ more teachers;
- provide training for more teachers for primary and secondary schools;
- improve teachers' conditions of service;
- continue the process of developing a curriculum that embodies the moral, social, cultural and economic

needs of Kenya;

- rehabilitate dilapidated school blocks;
- provide incentives and motivation so that the number of girls matches that of boys on enrolment and on completing education;
- encourage participation by the local community in the running of schools;
- restructure the ownership and management of village polytechnics to provide more effective training;
- make sure there is a public university in each province;
- encourage the establishment of private universities;
- encourage the participation of women and other marginalised groups by helping them acquire a university education through the provision of bursaries.



# Health

DELIVERING UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE & SOCIAL WELLBEING



*Kibera residents work together in a project to clean up the health-hazardous Nairobi dam.*

**T**he health status of Kenyans remains below acceptable levels. Childhood and maternal morbidity and mortality remain too high. Human resources in the health sector remain scarce, and hospital resources are continually overstretched.

HIV/Aids continues to spread, with dire social consequences.

Access to safe, potable water and good sanitation remains a dream for most people.

Access to most basic drugs is grossly inadequate and the entire health infrastructure desperately needs rehabilitation.

Health provision is grossly underfunded, and delivering universal health care is an urgent priority.

## I WILL:

- increase government spending in the health sector;
- abolish cost-sharing, as it denies



*Having led the clean-up, Raila thanks the project's sponsors.*

the poor and disadvantaged access to healthcare;

- introduce a national social health insurance scheme;
- improve hospital infrastructure – upgrade rural hospitals and build new health centres in under-served areas, by using public/private partnerships;
- strengthen our fight against HIV/Aids through education and counselling to promote behavioural change;
- continue to encourage population-control strategies;
- expand safe motherhood programmes in all districts by ensuring that these centres have improved referral systems, communications and transportation facilities;
- achieve full TB, polio and measles immunisation.



# The environment

MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF PROTECTING THE WORLD AROUND US

**W**E face huge environmental challenges. Deforestation, water-resources depletion, threats to biodiversity and fisheries resources, human habitat degradation, pollution and climate change are all priority issues that must be addressed.

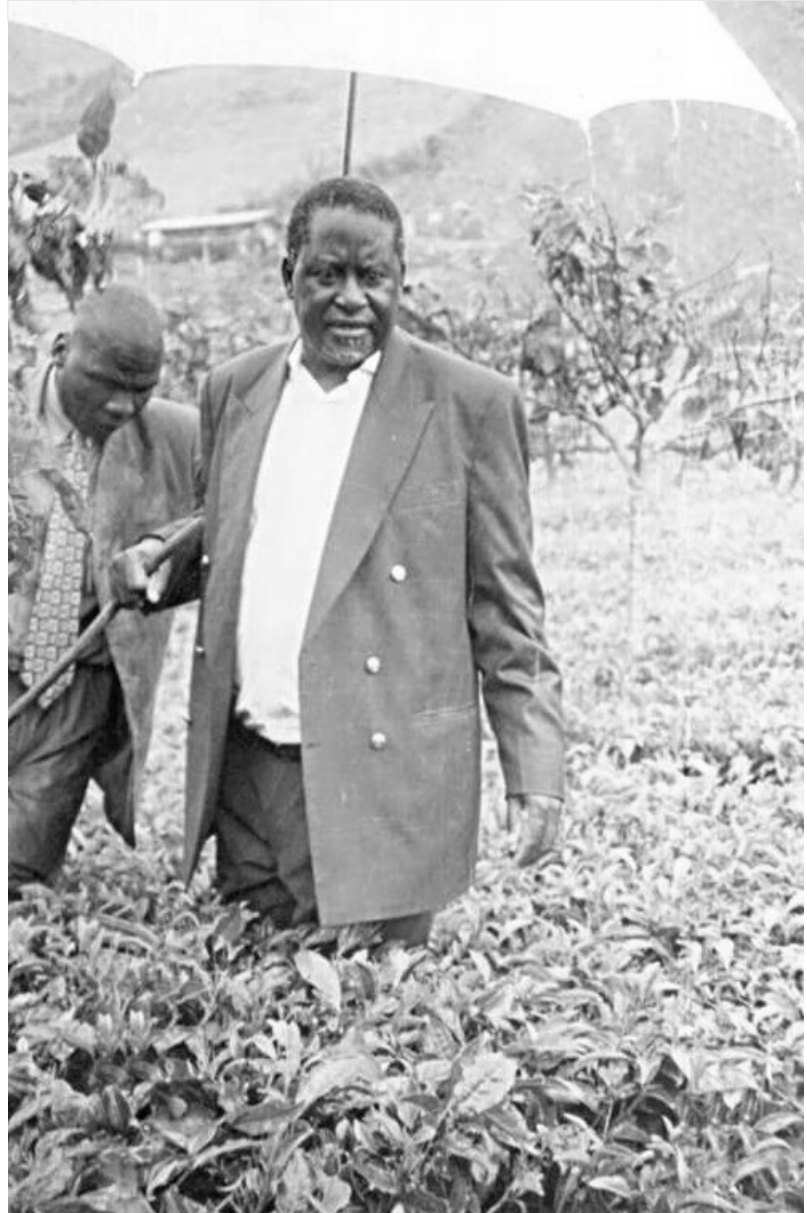
Professor Wangari Maathai's work on environmental conservation has deservedly received international acclaim.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner single-handedly fought against the Moi government's appetite for land-grabbing and its total disregard for environmental protection.

Sadly, the Kibaki government has no political insight or will to tackle escalating environmental damage, and it has done nothing to date that shows any commitment to an eco-friendly policy position.

## I WILL:

- put concern for the environment at the heart of government policy, from housing and energy policies to global warming and international criteria and agreements;
- undertake environmental audits for major existing projects and environmental impact assessment for new projects;
- introduce measures whereby local communities will share revenue from the core management of natural resources;
- make greater use of carbon emissions trading and environmental taxation to pursue our 'green' agenda, both to deter pollution and to provide resources for investment in sustainable alternatives;
- introduce plans for micro-generation of power;
- strengthen regulations on industrial pollution and intensify monitoring of environmental pollution, ensuring that polluters pay for any damage caused;
- promote school and civic environmental education and awareness campaigns nationally, and take action to



*Raila braves the rain to visit the site of a mudslide in Kangema, where deforestation for tea-planting has caused severe erosion. The path of the mudslide can be seen down the side of the hill behind him. Several people died when the mud overwhelmed them.*

implement the recycling of waste;

- introduce strict measures to fight water hyacinth and bilharzia infestation. The fishing sector faces continuous challenges as a result of the environmental degradation of Lake Victoria. Improving the stability of fish stocks, both inland and maritime, will remain an ongoing priority.



# Empowering women

REMOVING GENDER-BASED INEQUALITY & INJUSTICE

**W**OMEN remain disadvantaged politically, socially, culturally and economically.

There can be no sustainable or equitable development, or poverty eradication, unless discrimination against women is eliminated, and gender-based inequality and injustice are proactively removed.

Women in Kenya account for more than 80 per cent of agricultural production (FAO, 1999), yet fewer than five per cent own titles to land, and most of that is in the form of urban development plots.

This is so because, presently, there are various socio-cultural, policy and legislative frameworks that perpetuate the marginalisation of women and inhibit their right to the ownership, inheritance, management and disposal of land.

The new Constitution based on the

Bomas Draft, which I aim to introduce, goes a long way in enshrining the legal status of women. However, I intend to do much more.

## I WILL:

- intensify efforts and actions to redress the existing, persistent gender disparities in Kenya, which hamper the full participation of women in our society;
- introduce legislation that will ensure accessibility to and ownership of land as a factor of production;
- ensure more girls enrol and remain in schools;
- revise all oppressive practices, statutes and customary laws that perpetuate gender discrimination;
- advocate elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls, and ensure that our criminal justice system is tough on the perpetrators of such heinous crimes;

- ensure the availability of police and other legal officers, as well as health and social service providers, who are specially trained to handle women who are victims of domestic or sexual violence;

- improve women's access throughout their lives to appropriate, affordable and quality healthcare, information and services. I recognise that women potentially have particular health problems that put them at higher risk. I will ensure health programmes are gender-sensitive;

- encourage the development and promotion of environmentally friendly and affordable technologies that would reduce the burden on women;

- encourage projects that promote use of alternative sources of energy as substitutes for fuelwood;

- consolidate and expand credit facilities and provide more business advisory services and skills training, so that women have a better chance to run viable and sustainable businesses;

- through affirmative action and other means, ensure minimum 30 per cent representation of women in parliament, local government, the foreign service and all other areas of government and decision-making institutions. This would be a start and there will be no glass ceilings on the aspirations of Kenyan women. Fifty-fifty sharing is my ultimate aim;

- make it easier for women to acquire ID cards.



# Youth

HARNESSING THE POTENTIAL OF THE NATION'S FUTURE LEADERS



*Young people with early morning initiative wash cars at their roadside pitch.*

**I**recognise the unique social, economic, cultural and health challenges facing young people in Kenya. The Kibaki government has created a ministry of youth affairs and established the Youth Enterprise Fund to enable young people to access to micro-credit.

This is a welcome start. But a lot more needs to be done in providing education, training, employment, preventive health, and sporting facilities.

### I WILL:

- enhance the current National Youth Policy;
- entrench the rights of young people in decision-making. They will have the opportunity to influence the

decisions that affect them in education, health and employment;

- introduce a new national youth leadership programme to train tomorrow's leaders today;
- establish youth vocational training centres to assist youth in acquiring skills for gainful employment;
- enhance career guidance and counselling services to meet youth aspirations;
- ensure greater awareness among the youth of the

dangers of HIV/Aids and sexually transmitted diseases;

- address the concerns of the most vulnerable children, especially orphans and street children;
- encourage private sector investment in sporting and recreational facilities that will benefit youth.



*A youth group dance entertains visitors at a fundraising event.*



## The private sector

BEING BOLD & ENTREPRENEURIAL



*Engineer Raila checks that machines are in good order at his family's gas-cylinder manufacturing business, EA Spectre Ltd, which Raila built from scratch to help support the Odinga family when his father was detained without trial in the early 1970s.*

**MEMBERS** of Kenya's private sector – from small farmers to captains of industry, from women engaged in hawking tomatoes to those working in the banks on the main streets of our cities – are the movers and shakers of our growing economy. Yet we frustrate them if the business environment is hostile, if property rights are not respected, if commercial courts do not function optimally, if corruption pervades the public service and if entrepreneurship and innovation go unrewarded. Creating a friendly business environment that will boldly bring out the best in our private sector and will make our varied entrepreneurship bloom is the only sensible route. I will do it. I am a businessman myself, and I know where the shoe pinches.



## Citizen's Charter

GUARANTEED PUBLIC SERVICE STANDARDS

**I WILL** ensure the establishment of a Citizen's Charter, which will state the guaranteed standards of the services that public officials must offer all Kenyans. Such services will include those involving the issuing of business licences, national ID cards, voting cards and passports. The Charter will detail the procedures for individuals who need to lodge complaints against public officials who fail to meet these standards.



## Taxation

A FAIRER SYSTEM TO BENEFIT EVERYONE

**WE** currently have a taxation system that does not work on any level. I will rationalise this by broadening the tax base to increase revenue and enable a reduction in the individual tax burden, particularly for certain overtaxed groups in society, such as civil servants, who will benefit from a significant tax cut under my administration. I will also establish tax incentives for savings and the development of private housing.



## Globalisation

TAKING CHARGE OF AFRICA'S DESTINY

**GLOBALISATION** is here to stay, and we must not be deterred by the fact that more powerful countries are at present profiting from it, to our disadvantage. Africa's population will be the youngest in the next 40 years. Let us make maximum use of this resource in a global context, learning from our human resource experts and offering a home for foreign direct investment (FDI) to create more jobs for us. Africa holds the future of the world in natural resources, minerals and water. I shall ensure that we maximise on regional integration to position Kenya as a key player in African political and economic development.



# Cabinet minister

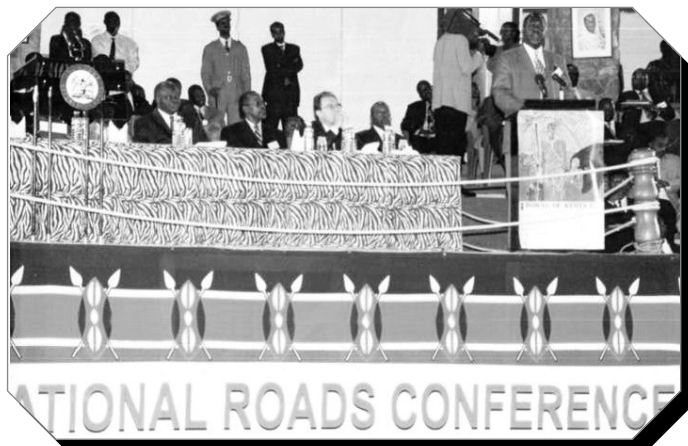
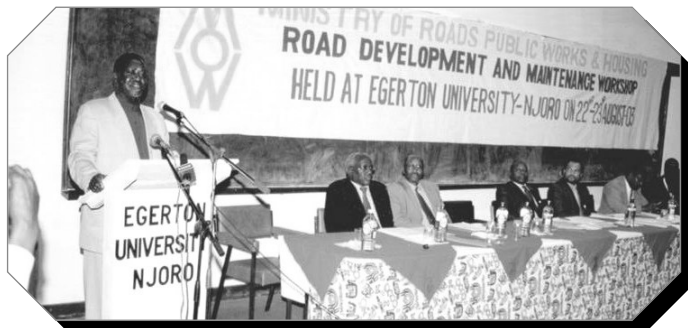
HARD-WORKING TEAM CAPTAIN



**Left:** Raila at his desk when he was minister for roads, public works and housing.

**Below left:** Raila speaking at roads and housing conferences he organised as minister. The last housing policy changes had taken place as far back as 1967, since when the population had tripled, leading to the mushrooming of city slums. As soon as he became minister, Raila set up a housing task force to review housing policy.

**Below:** In 2004, Raila opened the new Mwanza-Nyegezi road, in Tanzania, which was renamed Barabara ya Raila. In the lower picture, Raila walks on the road with his host, Tanzanian roads minister John Magufuli.





# Accolades for Raila

RECOGNITION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEMOCRACY & PUBLIC SERVICE



## *Engineer's Excellence Award*

RAILA receives from his Tanzanian counterpart at the time, roads minister John Magufuli, the Engineer's Excellence Award, bestowed on Raila for his services to engineering by the Institution of Engineers Tanzania, in August 2004.

## *The TASCC 2007 African Awareness Award of Excellence*

*Raila received this award in Tallahassee, Florida, USA, in March 2007. The citation said:*

'THE Honourable Raila Odinga, Member of Parliament for Langata, in Nairobi, and 2007 Presidential Candidate of the Republic of Kenya. His Excellency Odinga receives the Tallahassee and African Sister Cities Coalition Inc award for dedicating his life to public service and for his unrelenting effort to democratise politics and alleviate tribalism, nepotism and corruption in Kenya.'

## *Africa Link Champion of Democracy and Good Governance Award*

*Raila and Ghana's President John Agyekum Kufuor each received this award in Geneva, Switzerland, in December 2006, the only two recipients worldwide. Raila's citation said, in part:*

'IN your prime and maturity as a political leader, you have chosen the path of democratic dialogue in the resolution of your disagreements. As an ambitious political leader, you have recognised the pre-eminence of the national interest over and above your personal ambition.

Mr Raila Amolo Odinga, Africa Link recognises your contribution, and through you the millions of your countrymen and women who are committed to democratic and peaceful development of your country, Kenya.

Africa Link awards you the honour of Champion of Democracy 2006.'

## *The enyo Award*

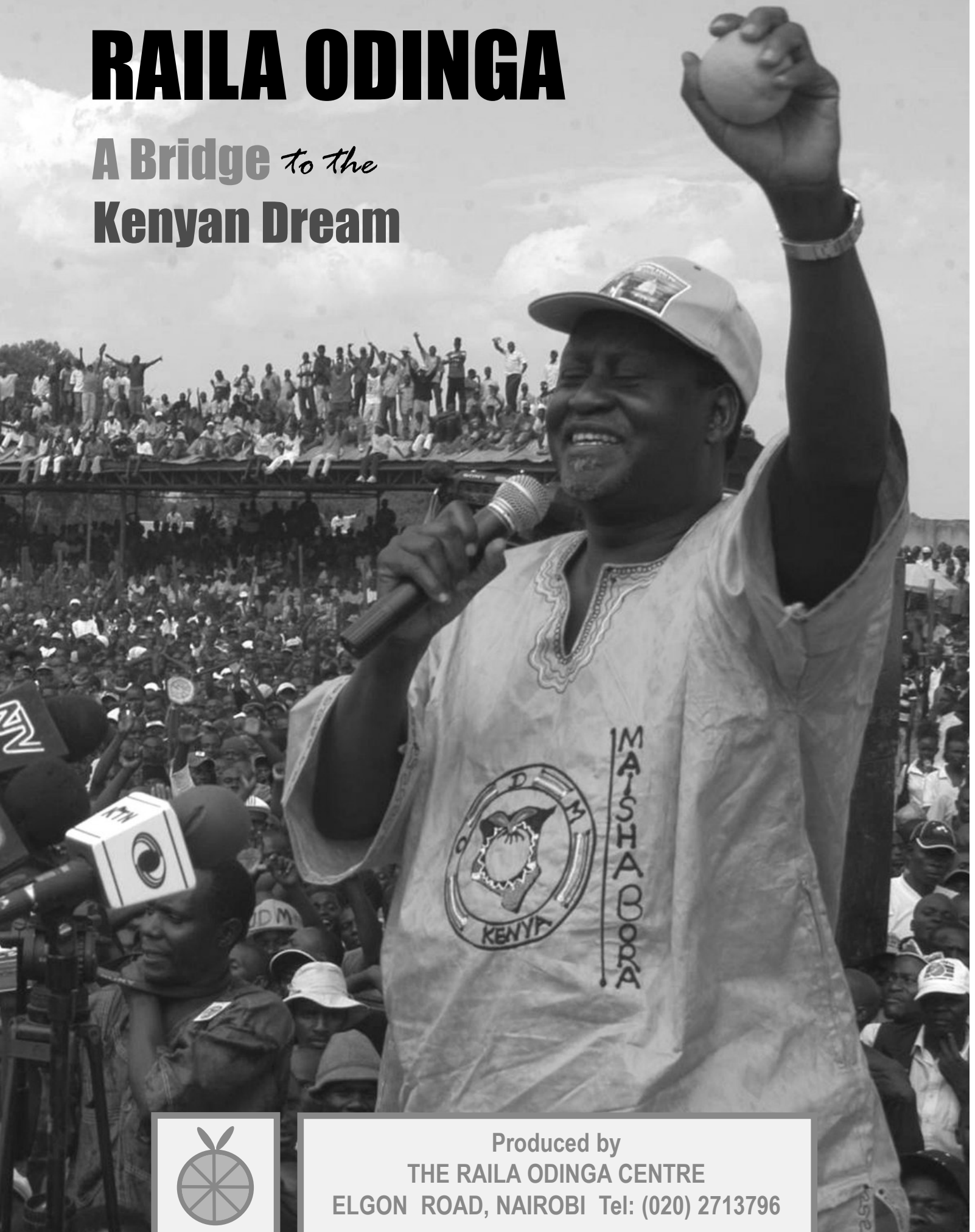
*Presented by Women in Action: Creating a Sustainable Africa – enyo International Inc, in Durham, North Carolina, USA, in March 2007, to:*

'HONOURABLE Raila Amolo Odinga, for outstanding leadership promoting gender equity and service to the African community.'



# RAILA ODINGA

A Bridge *to the*  
Kenyan Dream



Produced by  
THE RAILA ODINGA CENTRE  
ELGON ROAD, NAIROBI Tel: (020) 2713796

# RAILA ODINGA

*Leadership themes 2007*



**A Bridge**

*to the*

**Kenyan**

**Dream**

“Our nation needs a bridge to carry us from the honest efforts of our forefathers, struggling for independence, through the contest for multi-partyism, on to the work of the referendum, and now beyond all that to the future.

I am that bridge.”

RAILA ODINGA